Terena
Mbaya SK11 M
Compared from the point G
of view of the standards of living, health, education, and social status, the Terena are, today, superior to their former leaders, the Mbayá-Caduveo. 105 G48 [511]

The Mbayá are a good example of a people who developed a specialized culture. Emphasis upon warfare enabled them to achieve great successes through the domination of weaker tribes. Just how the Mbayá acquired these Spartan qualities is, of course, hidden in their pre-Columbian history. Whether their warlike propensities were borrowed from Andean sources or were developed in the incessant tribal conflicts of the Chaco we may never know. But it is clear that when first discovered by the Spaniards they were, along with the other Guaicurú-speaking tribes, the military masters of the Chaco. Once the conditions favorable to warfare and domination were removed, the Mbayá declined rapidly and were left with hunting as the only traditional means of livelihood.

An interesting comparison between the post-Columbian development of the North American Plains tribes and the Mbayá can also be drawn. After the adoption of the horse the North American Plains tribes became buffalo hunters, practically attaching themselves to large herds of buffalo, warfare being practiced against other horse-using tribes as a means of acquiring horses and prestige. In the Chaco there were no comparable herds of wild animals to hunt, but with the adoption of the horse the Mbayá were better able to exploit their weaker neighbors as a source of both wealth and social prestige.

Although efforts were made to take physical measurements of the Caduveo, their suspicion of the measuring instruments could not be overcome. Today, the Caduveo are the result of a mixture with their former Chamacoco slaves and with the Guaná as a result of intermarriage over a long period, so it is doubtful whether any knowledge of the physical type of the original Mbayá could have been obtained in any event. Early writers appear to be unanimous in their description of the Mbayá as a tall, well-built, athletic people (Sánchez Lab- M 142 M [123] M [144]

[P. 5-A]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

men working for the Post at 14 cruzeiros per day, 434
or a total of 21,840 cruzeiros. The income from these two sources gives a total of 411,840. This in turn would give each of the 200 families a cash income of approximately 2,059 cruzeiros per year. This is the nearest approach to family money incomes that could be made. This figure is somewhat below the estimate of between 2,000 and 3,000 cruzeiros made by the manager of the Post as it does not include the sales of manioc meal and other services performed by the Terena, but as the latter figure could not be calculated it was not considered. It is true, of course, that many families would be below and many above 2,059 cruzeiros a year. Yet from general observation there are no marked differences in the standard of living of the Terena living at the Post. The cash figure of 2,059 cruzeiros, which is equal to a little over $100 (U. S.), has little meaning unless it can be expressed in terms of goods which this money can buy.

It must be remembered that the Terena produce 241
the staple food products themselves while living 433
at the Post and also while working on the fazendas. 511
These staples consist of manioc, sweetpotatoes, beans, maize, and other vegetables. Money is
spent primarily for clothing and such foods and 511
household items that cannot be produced in the village or on the fazenda. A budget for a family of five was worked out which gives the following items of expenditure:

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children

	Cr. $
Man's clothing for year:	
1 suit—5 m. of cloth at Cr. $15 plus Cr. $15 for tailoring	90, 00
3 shirts—3 m. per shirt at Cr. $9 plus buttons	85, 00
1 pair of pants	45, 00
1 pair of shoes	120, 00
Extras (straw hats, socks, handkerchiefs, razor blades)	50, 00
Total	390, 00
Woman's clothing for year:	
3 dresses at Cr. $76	228, 00
Underclothing—6 m. at Cr. $9,00	72, 00
1 pair of sandals	15, 00
Extras (combs, face powder, etc.)	50. 00
Total	365. 00

[P. 16-B]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[POST-Chaco Period] Terena

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

Clothing for 3 children for year:	Cr. $
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100, 00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45, 00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75, 00
Total	220, 00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975, 00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3, 50
Salt, ½ kilo	1, 00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2, 00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1, 00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6, 00
Lard, ½ kilo	5, 00
Total for week	18, 50
Total for year	962, 00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975, 00
Food and household items	962, 00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122, 00
Total	2 059, 00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] [797] [871]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

[P.17-A]

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on roads and with the money earned he bought more livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He claims that he does not make enough money from his livestock to live and has to work for the Post on occasion. 159 [231] [511]

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal. 159 563

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a stake-walled one-room house, one side opening onto a shed where he has his work bench. [342]

Feliciano learned to read and write when he was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very well with the Protestants. He was trained to be a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and repairs harness for people in the village and for people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him. [212] [794] [463] [282]

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He learned to read and write at the Protestant mission school. He reads the Bible and sometimes newspapers. 159 [212] [797]

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition which have largely replaced the old dual organization but which continue the underlying social motives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities. 177 182 795

The Terena admit that they had slaves when they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913. 178 567 565 [648] [1917]

Another circumstance which in all probability led to the disappearance of the distinction between slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Terena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the Caduveo did not experience and may account for the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá. 178 182 565 [464] [511] [361] [171]

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

3:Oliveira--140 E-5,9(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Guarani SM4

[Francisco Horta]

/97 cont./ But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all the communities studied are characterized by being turned toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, although as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the
[434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic
[241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they
[464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans
[511] [feijão miudo], and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the
184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could
511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities,
434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas
464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by
[463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out-
[314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

G /103 cont./
184 damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those
464

161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

G
Gi
[245]

related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

G
511
433 This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply
G because the two economies coincide since they both undergo
184 the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão,
233 reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna
511 families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not

/104 cont./

184 233 511 include any native families that own reasonable numbers of beeves sufficient to give them relative economic independence, like those of Lalima and Brejão.

184 233 511 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending [166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from [441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd [427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas, 182 241 511 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and, especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 571 177 The most significant differences between Terêna communities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane, since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 798 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/109 cont./

184 Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided
621
797
795
665

[28]

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621
795
511
[184]

[182]

[648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/109 cont./

621
795
511

"Protestant" nucleus of Água Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

184
621
797 this account divided the community into two antagonistic
795 religious groups.

184 The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served
177 to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

177 Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives
167 if we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him in Campo Grande, he had bought a house, still tied up to estate inventory, and he was trying to salvage his money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the

201. As a source of such friction, an important role is played by the politico-religious division of the community. This is proved by the large numbers of individuals channeled from Bananal and Ipegue to Campo Grande and Aquidauana. While Bananal is in first place among the aldeas, with 23.91 per cent, Ipegue in second, with 18.11 per cent, the other aldeas are most insignificant, sending, in absolute figures, one or two individuals at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas; it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the population that scattered before the creation of the native reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
●511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city

/131 cont./

life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

2. Military service is another important factor, but which, of course, applies only to the male population. It presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences, supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

From this desire to travel and to know new places--already pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could

202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115 ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 ff. (Central America).

/144 cont./ But in the cities,
*177 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
191 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
369 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).
561

*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
●511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[167] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna, that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city. This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to perform agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed information regarding this "fazenda" population that would permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts, whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work, it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/148 cont./

000 with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

*177 4. Aside from the barriers mentioned so far, namely: (1) the ethnic ones (phenotype and language), (2) those created by the urban labor market (lack of documents and preference for agricultural work), and (3) those created by the intervention of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (segregation and discrimination), there are also, to make difficult the full functioning of the assimilation mechanisms, those barriers that we shall call "social," because they operate on the level of the organization of the associative life.

*177 The first of these emerges from the difficulty encountered
369 by the Terêna population coming from the aldeas in maintaining
571 the same index of associative life. Whether they settle on fazendas or in cities--especially in cities--Terêna families become involved in more impersonal relations, more shallow, and limited to a small group of fellow tribesmen (usually neighbors, relatives, and compadres) and a few fellow workers. The intensive "social life" of the aldeas (festivals, games, visits, etc.) has no counterpart on the fazendas or in the cities. All of that typically tribal interaction to which they were
[511] accustomed gradually disappears. Even the recreational life
[565] of the Terêna emigrant, which at first seemed about to be enriched by his move to the urban areas, for example, proves much poorer because it is inaccessible to the less favored strata of the population in which he settles.

*177 This integration into the lowest strata, in turn, can be
369 considered as a second barrier that arises between the Terêna
565 and the national society. The detribalized population, from the moment when it leaves its aldea, even if it does not lose touch altogether with its local group, goes on to live either as landless country people (when it settles on fazendas), or as manual laborers (when it lives in the cities). The exceptions,
[511] already mentioned earlier, are rare. But the fact that this detribalized population (especially the urbanized one),

/149/

177 369 385 511 goes on to sell its labor at a better price is not sufficient, for both needs and expenses increase considerably, to the point that it does not pay to leave the aldeas for merely economic reasons. (210) This population is obviously prevented from

210. We saw elsewhere (Cf. 1 and 2, pp. 185-190, that there were also other forces working to attract the Terêna to the city and how they--the forces--were not sufficient to hold them there. As for the fazendas, as a place to live and to work, they do not, and indeed never did, exert attraction on the aldea or even the urbanized Terêna; if this "Terêna fazenda population" exists today, this is due to the successive political and military struggles in which the region was involved, from the Paraguayan war, leading the Terêna population to compulsory enlistment on the fazendas, at a time when native reservations had not yet been set up: this population is made up at present of survivors of the local groups scattered earlier that did not return to aldeas reorganized later. Nevertheless, this population is still identified

162 175

162 619 369